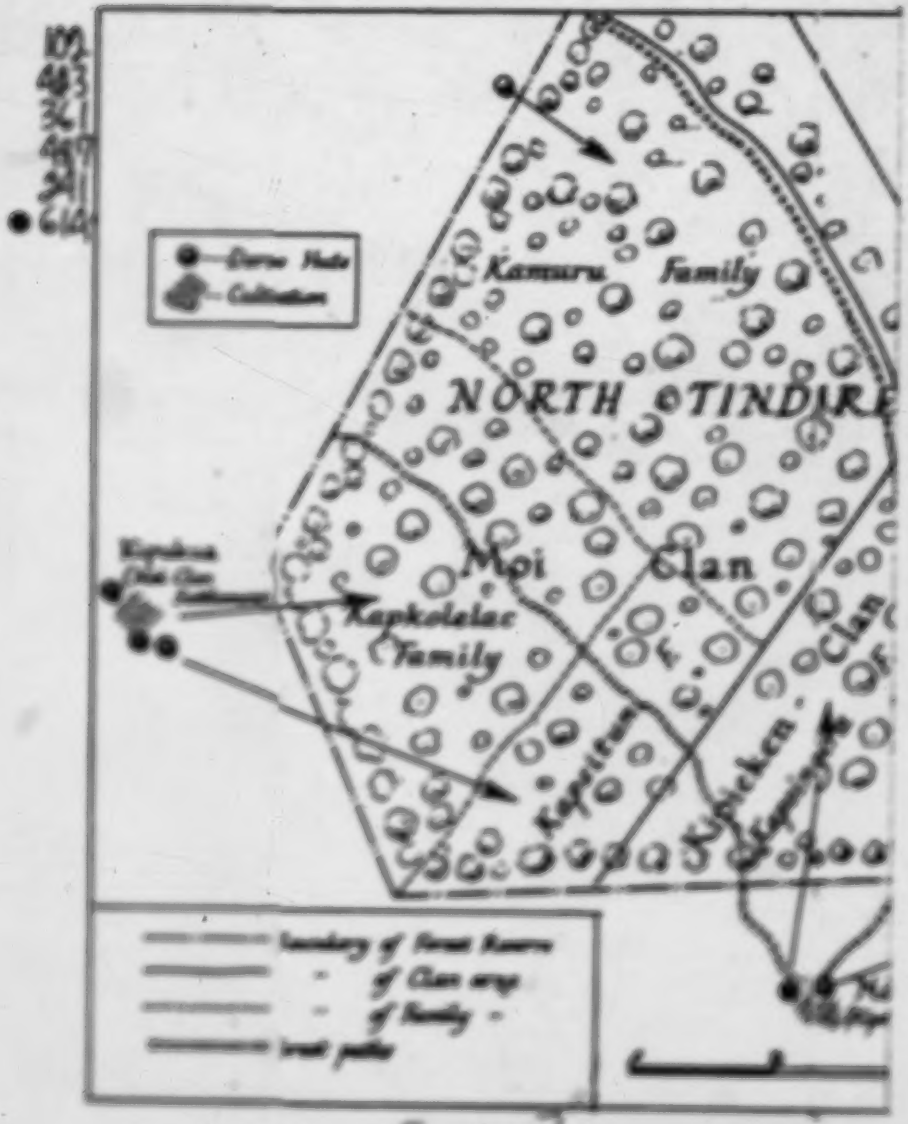
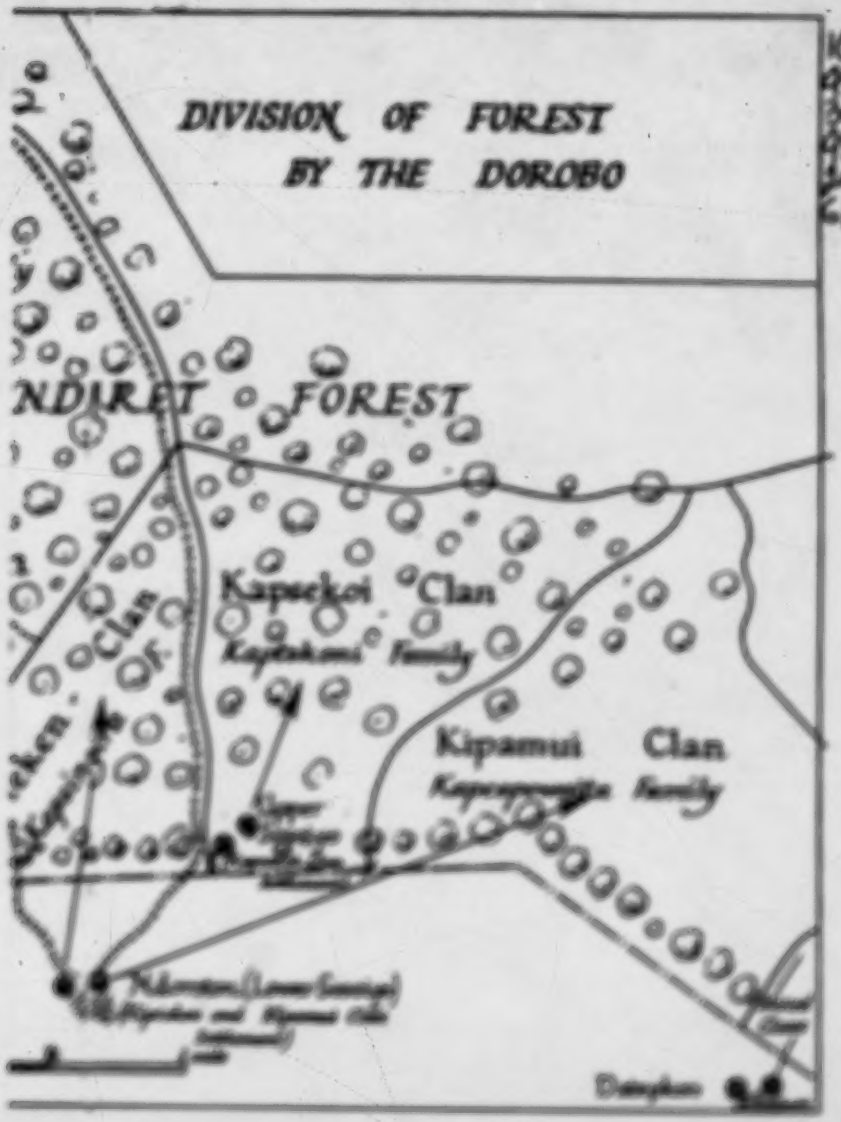
THE SOUTHERN NILO-HAMITES



[p. 56]

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA



[p-57]

patronymic from their father's prestige name. Younger sons generally take their patronymic from the father's subclan, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1936-37. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as sponsor for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (save) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mut* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Cegiwandi*, the senior; *Tuguldi* or *Kipkilionyek*, the middle; and *Kwondandi* or *Kipsiandi*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behaviour patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while an Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own lands, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

Political Institutions

Land Division

The Dorobo live mainly in clan settlements divided between a number of districts or *pororiek* (*koroweik*, sing. *koret*). Till about 1900 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1901 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *ovet*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *kowi ap ovet*, the animal of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census, three others are reported to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in my records; they were, however, mentioned to me in 1937 as well as in 1938-9. Each of these clans has one totem, except that which has four, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan. An exception to this rule is found in the case of five, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an exception borne the possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom like marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 97.) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were sub-totemic, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which enough to one of the reputed clans are all Nandi.

* The Nandi occasionally use *ogwet* for this sub- (i.e. Nandi *mutik* meaning "the totems"

Table of Clans

Clan name	Corresponding Proto-Lituanic word, and also Old Prussian	Source	Possible notes
Kiparkas*	Kiparkas Kip	Proto-clan	ancient name
Kiv*	Kiv	Proto-clan	ancient clan name, meaning unclear
Kipakas*	Kipakas	Proto-clan	Kipa-
Kipanas*	Kipanas	Proto-clan	Kipa-
Kupal*	Kupalkas	Proto-clan	kupa pig
Kupa*	Kupa	Proto-clan	kupa
Kunigas*	Kunigs	Proto-clan	kunig
Kuis*	Kuis	Proto-clan	kuis

The clans named clans are: Kiparkai,* corresponding to the Proto-Lituanic name *kiparkas,* corresponding to the Proto-Lituanic name *kip-* and Kiparkas, meaning a Lituanic word, Proto-Lituanic.

(All clan names marked * are of Proto-Lituanic origin.)

The clan is the basis of political organization, and people tend to live in clan settlements under the control of a clan council. This council consists of all the full men of the clan. People meet at the house of a chairman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares honey-wine or beer, for the business of the council is done in an informal way with a jar of honey-wine or a keg of beer passing around. Each in an informal way with a jar of honey-wine or a keg of beer passing around, which is a case in a. Business is done first and the drinking follows. The council deals with clan matters, including disputes between members, boundaries of hunting areas, [illegible] of a chieftainship, feuds, and the preliminary arrangements when a clan man has killed a member of another clan. Disputes are settled by discussion, and the result is pronounced by the council leader, Kiparkas, who is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, but someone fairly senior who acquires his position in [illegible] which the clans may or does the Proto-Lituanic [illegible] (p. 68).

The Kiparkai

Superimposed on the clan areas is a system of districts (*kunigai*, sing. *kunig*) governed by Proto-Lituanic officials. Each district includes several clan settlements, and has a council which is formed of the elders and accredited men of all the clan settlements within it; the council site marks a tree (there are no special council trees) in an open space from which the land has been cleared. The function of the Proto-Lituanic council is to decide [illegible] clans. It has a leader, also known as Kiparkas, whose position and duties resemble those of the leader of the clan council, and he organizes the affairs in the same way. There are six clans of the Kiparkai.

The Kiparkai is divided into nine Proto-Lituanic clans (Proto-Lituanic *kipakas*, Proto-Lituanic *kipanas*, Proto-Lituanic *kupal*, Proto-Lituanic *kupa*, Proto-Lituanic *kunigas*, Proto-Lituanic *kuis*, and Proto-Lituanic *kiv*). Of these, only three of them were occupied: Kiparkai, Kipakas, and Kupal. [illegible]

Legal Sanctions

Legal system which governs sanctions on Proto-Lituanic [illegible] and [illegible] in the council. Secondary sanctions deal with magical theft, [illegible]

[illegible] and wealth. In the first category, incest is punished under the authority of the clan council; the man is beaten, the girl burnt. Sorcery [illegible] the woman who is beaten. Witches might be killed under authority of the tribal council. In cases of persistent disobedience to the council, the elders could agree two or three men to force the offender, by sword and physical persuasion, to submit his case. Of offences in the second category, [illegible] have already been mentioned (p. 76). Theft, when not dealt with summarily, can be brought to the tribal council, which may order payment of compensation. A more powerful deterrent is [illegible] "If I see a thief, every time grass we see," said [illegible] a thief, [illegible] grass between his teeth. Adultery might be punished by the injured husband, who, if he killed the offender, had to pay blood-wite. If a man [illegible] committed by something like, he must bind [illegible] to recompense. Homicide of a member of another clan, though not involving primary revenge, was a serious offence, because it meant that the murderer had to get cattle in order to pay compensation. The murdered man was also head of cattle, though when the murderer was a very poor man [illegible] the murder might be enforced. The kind of cattle (male or female) did not matter. The murderer had to provide as many as he could from his own herd if he had one, or by exchange from his friends, or by any other means, including theft. The deficiency had to be made up by his fellow-clansmen.

Summary

The Dirndo lands consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together chiefly by the feeling that they are all Dirndo, the ascendancy by the clan law which [illegible] and by the district boundaries. The clan is therefore one of the chief institutions in the life of the Dirndo.

MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

Clans

Housing

(a) Forest type.—The Amongali, as we saw in 1927, was a [illegible] of circular [illegible] huts in long [illegible] structures, covered by the grounds with [illegible] and [illegible] of trees (eight, 6 ft.; height, 11 ft.; width, 7 ft. [illegible] type; the [illegible] has a circular wall about 3 ft. high [illegible] with mud, and an [illegible] flat thatched roof supported by a centre post; the hut is a hut of ordinary Pondi type, the walls of which are occasionally left unplastered.

Settlements in the forest, consisting of from [illegible] huts, were situated in [illegible] just big enough to hold the huts, and were [illegible] by [illegible] [illegible] which [illegible] to a [illegible] regulation that each is [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] a guide. Settlements outside the forest are arranged in small groups usually close to the [illegible] land.

Dress and Ornament

Clothing is made largely from the [illegible] of wild animals, and the hides are mainly [illegible] from those of the Pondi, as are most of the ornaments, which include, among other things, [illegible] and [illegible], necklaces, and [illegible] worked in an irregular [illegible]. The necklaces are [illegible] and arranged [illegible] getting [illegible] to the [illegible], and [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] in the [illegible] of the ear. Those [illegible] all [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] is [illegible] to [illegible] in a [illegible] of about 2 [illegible] [illegible] is a [illegible] [illegible] with a [illegible] cap, and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible]. Occasionally a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Food and Produce

[illegible] are obtained from Pondi cattle, the Dirndo [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Grubbs are made from [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

THE HISTORY OF KINGS (EXERCISE)

History

The group identified by Lambert relating to Kinsbo as top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Great Rivers of salt north of Lamora, is first shown on Kinsbo in Lambert, 1851. It was seen by Thomas in 1861 at the place known to the Lambert as Wanmak ("place of hunters") which, he says, a Kinsbo village was established for selling land bought from the Kinsbo in the West and the Kinsbo." The group is part of the Kinsbo Kinsbo who occupied the land before the Kinsbo came. The process by which the Kinsbo had completely lost their land by 1861 when Lambert passed through is unknown, but the Kinsbo Land Commission in one [illegible] purchase of villages and surrounding land by of religious and missionaries, purchase of properties, and forgery of titles and ownership."[1]

Organization

There are no chiefs, council being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called Kinsbo-Kinsbo or simply the Kinsbo-Kinsbo. Marriage is prohibited, and divorce prohibited. Polygamy is practiced. There are circumcised, and girls are subjected to clitoridectomy. Tribal spoons as the centre unit of age-set system, and Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

There are said to be nine clans, one Kinsbo-Kinsbo clan beginning with the [illegible] clan, which does not apply territorially, but simply means "group of". These clans are sometimes referred to by Kinsbo clan names, but Kinsbo clan names. The word for clan is Kinsbo, derived from the Kinsbo [illegible] "clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, one of [illegible], which means not "[illegible]" but "one goat."

Religion

A so-called supreme being called Lamoi is recognized, and the deceased [illegible] spirits as "entire nations" of a Kinsbo implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

[illegible]. S. S. Lambert, The society of land tenure in the Kinsbo Land Club, Part 2. History of the tribal occupations / the land, pp. 47, 48.

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

of the following types of Dembo.[1] I give the names in the singular and plural forms.[2]

Sing.	*Plur.*
1. Ch-Dolofgni	D-Dolofgo
2. Ch-Kinyolofgni	D-Kinyolofgni
3. Ch-Mbiri	D-Mbiro[3]
4. Ch-Mvfuki	D-Mvfuki
5. Ch-Kimvbomi	D-Kimvbomo
6. Ch-Avumuli	D-Avumuli
7. Ch-Kivkovchi	D-Kivkovchi
8. Ch-Kimogoro	D-Kimogoro

These names, all provided by the Mossi article, would seem to be the only ones known to the members of the types they represent. It is possible that there may have been other names in existence originally, and that many years in close contact with the Mossi have had the effect of reducing some of these names to the Mossi idiom. On this it is not possible to give an opinion, owing to the complete lack of information on the subject.

The names of the types of Dembo having been ascertained, I endeavoured to establish contact with some individuals of each type. In this I have been moderately successful. An added incentive to my efforts was the fact that the *Mbiro* Dembo, who live in considerable numbers in the vicinity of Yalomni, were discovered to have a language of their own. This language is almost wholly unintelligible to the Mossi. On being questioned, the *Mbiro* admitted their ability to converse in a tongue unknown to the Mossi, but stated that there were other Dembo[4] whose language they (the *Mbiro*) did not know.[5]

[1] I do not call them clans. I object to calling the segments, having totally unconnected or remote ancestors, by the name of clan. On the further ground, it would not seem, from the existing evidence, that they can all be indirectly traced to Bantoid and Sudanese origin.

[2] The singular would represent an individual of the type and the plural the type as a whole.

[3] According to Delhy, *D-Mbiro* is the name given to a class of the Gagu people by the Yarse Mossi. I have not heard the name used in this connection by the Mossi of the Yungayanda District. [4] *D-Lemogoro*.

[5] It might be of interest, in this connection, to recall the fact that the

[illegible] G. W. S. Shannonians.—Modern Russian: Some Account of

Class.

● 614 The Duellist have eight chess pawns, g2 continued, B.g, which correspond to eight of the Dutch class:—

Class.	Name.	Meaning.	Corresponding Dutch Name.
1. Bel	Bulgarian (Fr.)	Crystal stone	Bel.
2. Kahgan	Kazakh (Kaz.)	Baron	Kahgan.
3. Kazikan	Tatars (Fr.)	Dark city	Kazikan.
4. Kalmuk	Russian (Bel.)	Elk	Kalmuk.
5. Kaz	Kazakh	Kaz	Kaz.
6. Kalun	Kalmuk	Kazik	Kalun.
7. Kazikan	Tatar (Fr.)	Kazikan	Kazikan.
8. Kalmuk	Arabic (Fr.)	Elk and	Kalmuk.

The first class is the most numerous.

Consecutive Ages.

524 There are seven consecutive ages (brisés, pl. brisegh), which have the same names as in Dutch; the intervals between the ages are about 14 years, and they succeed one another in a recurring cycle of about 98 years, as in Dutch, except that the Dutch intervals are 12 years (formerly 13) years. The present order of the ages, and their names, are as follows[1]:—

1. Bors (very old men)								Chronicled about 1877
2. Kilgishtuni								1891
3. Kilgishtuh								1905
4. Kilmaylin								1919
5. Kilmagli (mothers)								1933
6. Kalun (boys)								Chronicled after 1947
7. Kalun (small children)								1961

The old men speak of an eighth age, Kilgaraliy or Kilgaraliy, which has fallen out of use.

Each age is divided into three divisions (see pl. mentioned (B.) a line), which are called[2]:—

1. Bazan—Kilmaglishi (B.) Radishtish, or Radigan-ugh).
2. Ali-ishi—Kilmaglishi (B.) Kilgishtuh.[3]
3. Kazan—Kilmaglishi (B.) Kilgishtuh.[3]

[1] By Kazik Kilmagli a.v. "Ireland's queen" for the Duellist Kaz. A valid form of an even Kaz for both Kaz gives.

[2] By the Kazikan dialect of Kazik Kaz names are called also "Kilgishtuhgish" and "Kilgishtuhgish."

[3] See B.C. Ali. A. W. S. Shannonians a.v.B.C.I. Kilg.g. Ali-ishi.

In 1928 and 1929 I made a census of the three Gumuz districts which were still inhabited, which showed that out of a total of 280 surviving members of the Eighteenth family, 67 % were living in the forest or on forest clear in it. The remaining 33 %, were settled in groups in certain areas of Gumuz where they had been for many years, having gone there by private arrangement with the Gumuz, and in Uanie Uoha, with a few in the Dumassa and Kuya Reserves. Most of these 33 %, maintained fairly constant contact with the forest people, and all were recognised as members of one or other of the three Gumuz districts. Under these conditions it is surprising that they have retained so much of their traditional organisation, but the disruption of even the remainder for some of the difficulties experienced in studying them, and for some of the gaps in the record. Accordingly it was not too late in 1929 to gain a record which, however imperfect, does substantially increase our knowledge of the Gumuz.

The dispersal of the Gumuz made it necessary to classify the groups according to their distribution, and this resulted in a grouping of the bands in four "forest categories".

1). Inside the forest, at an altitude of 6000 ft. and over.
2). Forefoot on the edge of the forest, usually over 7000 ft. and within a mile of the trees.
3). Forefoot or Upper Gumuz, within 10 miles of the forest, with several conditions generally similar to 2, but a little lower.
4). Kuya, Dumassa and Lekkuya, where conditions in places are similar to 3.

The analysis of the census and forest categories will be found in the Appendix p. 6.

Here in this paper we are first only with those parts of the social organisation that concern the family and clan, a short summary of other aspects of Gumuz life may be helpful. The social and political life of the Gumuz is based on the clan, which has its own council to deal with internal affairs, and even in this people live in clan groups. This is common to the Forest, where the clans are dispersed and play but a small part in communal political life. The forest is divided into nine districts or spatial divisions, also forested, of which only three are now inhabited. These districts, from north to south, are: 1 Lagaba[1], 2 Bulgai, 3 Gwaa, 4 Kabanma, 5 Gwanya, 6 Gwadeu, 7 Bidugu, 8 Fadi, 9 Angolo. In 1928-29 only Bulgai, Kabanma, and Gwanya were inhabited, the latter had been small previously to the district as a whole (irrespective of clan). The Gumuz never acquired the coastal belt of the Forest, district councils were held only where there was something important to talk about, and the clan council was held a short distance and was closed after that the district council.

There is no chief of the Gumuz, nor an overall chief in Gumuz to whom has an district council, the holding was dissatisfied — the executive

[1] B is English church, and is used with the clan throughout

[illegible] getting his position through the tacit recognition of the people. The Ganda therefore consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly because they "are all Ganda", but much more by the clan-solidarity which extends across the district boundaries. The clan is thus a far more important institution than it is among the Kavirondo.

The Ganda are a hunting people who have been forced to take up agriculture, and at the same time are in process of acquiring a small amount of live stock. A great deal of their culture and most of their language have been borrowed from the Kavirondo, but their habits and mental characteristics are their own, including a "hunting outlook" which contrasts with the "cattle outlook" of the pastoralists, and a feeling of sympathy with wild animals that does not exist among either pastoralists or agriculturalists. There is importance in hunting even here, and history is regarded mainly as pastoral people regard cattle.

Although the Ganda are commonly thought of as a people who practise or still observe taboo a game, this notion is true only to a limited extent. Parties used to go for shoot in the old days working game outside their own territory in the sparsely inhabited areas of the highlands; but their own lands map and still is divided into strictly observed economic areas where no family holdings to which people have, as crops, keep their bees, and other vegetable food. These areas may look small on the map, but anyone who thinks that half an inch on a map representing perhaps one mile on the ground covers a very short distance, will find when he gets to the Ganda that one inch on the ground is a very formidable item altering all sorts of possibilities for the hunter, and infinite distance for the stranger to see himself.

Appendix

Analysis of the Census

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Analysis of Domestic Categories

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The parts played by the grandfather or grandmother, and by the father's brother and his wife are directed largely towards instruction in behaviour and stability, though a young paternal uncle may often help in teaching boys the elements of woodcraft and hunting. And although the father and mother teach their children to distinguish between right and wrong, and how to behave to their relatives, the grandparents in particular have a good deal to do with this aspect of education.

The part played by elsewhere as educators is in general limited, for it depends upon the type of settlement and the number of them with whom the child is able to have contact. Where the settlement is a purely family affair there will be no elsewhere immediately at hand, and it is only in clan settlements that their influence can be at all effective. At Kolpai there was in 1938 a settlement consisting of two elementary families and four unmarried elsewhere; and at Kibaraina a widow with two small children could turn to five adult elsewhere for help in bringing up her children, as well as to three other widows and a young girl. In such circumstances children will have more to do with elsewhere than with relatives. This is very different from the Nandi, who do not live in clan settlements and among whom elsewhere are much less important than relatives in these matters.

5. The Age-Set system

In all forms of training, a proper standard of behaviour is insisted upon, because without due attention to this, no cohesion of clan or family is possible, and hence there can be no hostile solidarity. Theoretical this of kinship cannot last if the behaviour of members towards each other is not carefully promoted and strictly regulated, and so behaviour is the keystone of social life. It must be considered not only from the point of view of a man's dealings with his relatives, but with respect to the different generations with which he comes in contact, and the effect of the age-set system on these relationships must therefore be taken into account. Age-sets and kinship rules may actually be in conflict, and so it is necessary before going any further into the subject of behaviour to see how the age-set system works among the Dorobo.

Age-sets, *ipinda, plur. ipinwaki*, are an Wanderobo institution adopted by the Nandi and Dorobo, and borrowed from the Nandi by the Dorobo. The principle of the system is that the males of the tribe or horde are divided into a number of groups or sets of individuals whose ages all fall within certain limits, and the sets are not progressive like the age-grades or stages through which the individual passes from birth to death. Thus a Dorobo man passes through the successive stages of boy, circumcised man, and old man; and a woman through those of girl and woman. But age-sets are more than this: for a man is born into a set, and in that set he remains all his life irrespective of his age in years; women, moreover, do not have age-sets, but on marriage refer to themselves as belonging to their husbands' age-sets.

603 754 598 Next day the mother and the offending children hasten to grandmother's with food. The old woman accepts the food and spits on the children, saying at the same time, *Sore kamasiek ake ne ageyiandwee* ("Peace, I spit on you and to-day you will flourish"), thus both forgiving them and removing any possibility that her curse may have an ill effect. The mother's mother may do the same sort of thing, if she lives near enough for the children to visit her.

603 606 Arap Maiting's wife's mother and father lived at Kipkoreon, and his children used to visit them there, always taking presents with them. When Arap Maiting visited the old people, as he did sometimes in the company of his children, he met them on ordinary terms, entered their hut, and sat down inside, *ei kotee kakai* ("to talk of our affairs"), and his mother in law gave him food to eat. By this time, the strictness of avoidance had been much relaxed, for he was a staid and respectable man of forty or so. But though his children may sleep in this hut, he may not do so on any account, and if he stays too long to be able to return home before dark, he must sleep in a neighbour's hut. His father in law Kaela used to live at Cepkenyuk in Nandi, a good two hours' walk from Kipsikon; but in July 1933 he moved to Kipkoreon, as his son Loli was working on Kapchorua Farm close by. A small hut was built for Kaela and his wife in a maize shamba belonging to some Nandi, and the old Dorobo were allowed to live there in return for guarding it. Loli, a *Moiton*, is Arap Maiting's wife's brother, and therefore 604 owes to his children; but though his sister's children do not go to see him, he sometimes goes to Kipsikon to see them. This was one of the few instances of a mother's brother being at all intimate with his sister's children; and Cepkemoiro taught her children to like Loli, who would greet them by saying *Nabei, kakwa* ("greetings, children"), and then spitting on them and saying *Sore, kakwa* ("Peace, children") to which they would answer *Eju, mama* ("Blessing, uncle"). But in spite of this friendly intercourse, Loli never played the part in their lives that Arap Maiting's brother Kimoisi did; and his share in their training was very small.

IV. The Clan

● 614 The clan, *ent*, plural *entinik*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *Ainet ap ent*, or simply *Ainet*, "the animal (of the clan)". Of the eleven clans listed, the existence of eight is attested by genealogies and the census; the remaining three are reported to exist or to have existed. All but one of these clans have but one totem each; the exception has three, the principal of which it shares with another clan, an unusual feature in that it is the group not the totem that is important, the clan being a social group rather than a group of people nominally related through the clan animal. All the clan names but one are taken from Nandi clan names; the exception seems to be of Dorobo origin. Some of these [199] names are taken from the principal name of a Nandi clan, others from subsidiary names, for the Nandi clan has (1), a principal name by which it is generally known, and (2) a subsidiary name or nickname which is

grandfather, though not always very clearly, of the animal or one of its products. Each clan corresponds to a Huron clan, with the exception that one, the Eagle-Hawk, corresponds to both Huron Eagle-Hawk and Bird, and that the Huron have also a clan called Rat corresponding to Huron Bird. This apparent confusion indicates that the Hurons have borrowed the Huron clan nomenclature and called it by their own clan names without much care, for it is plain that they did not borrow the clan system, which is too deeply rooted a part of their organization. The two appearances of the Eagle-Hawk clan extinct has a bearing on marriage which will be noted later on.

The clan names and animals are:

A. Inherited by grandfather and women

[illegible]	[illegible]	Name	[illegible]
1. Kayenhes	Kayenhes Bird	subsidiary name of Huron clan Kayenhes	Kanenyah*
2. Bird	Bird	Huron corresponding clan	1. Kanenyah 2. Rat* 3. Kayenhes
3. Kayenhes	Kayenhes	Huron clan	Kanenyah
4. Kayenne	Kayenne	Huron clan	Kanenyah
5. Kayll	Kayenhes	subsidiary name of Huron clan	Deer
6. Tsiyut	Tsiyut	Huron clan	Otter
7. Kwayer	Tsiyut	subsidiary name of Huron clan	Otter

B. Inherited by genealogy from Tsiyut

8. Tsiyut	Tsiyut	Huron clan	Otter

The following are reported to exist or to have existed, though it seems certain on numbers of clans, either in person or in genealogies, the names were ascertained by Mrs. Emerson, in 1847:

9. Kayenge, corresponding to the Huron Kwenrohe, of which Kayenge is a subsidiary name; bones, sagamorship
10. Kayenhes, corresponding to Huron Kayenhes; bones, snake

* Kanenyah, applied Huron * Rat are corresponds to the Huron Ata-ochiatah

though to Kautil such a marriage is forbidden. This statement is based on the evidence of genealogists, which does not exist that (1) a man may marry into the clan of his mother or his mother's mother, (2) a man who marries one whole may take both from the same clan, and (3) two brothers may marry sisters of the same clan.

9. Marriage

1. Generalities

Consanguinity is a prohibition to marriage, but does the whole process of alliance associated with that of the Kautil, it is not necessary to describe in part the regular ways to alliance in Kautil's descriptions for the Kautil.[1] It is probable that the practice was borrowed from the Kautil along with the agnatic system with which it is closely associated. The fact that the Kautil prescribes not a formula to perform the operation of Kautil ways and that the Kautil is the past normality for a might suggest that the Kautils practised it before they came in contact with the Kautil of Kautil. But is also of the close resemblance of the Kautils to the Kautil population and the use of Kautil forms there points to its working particularly significant to the employment of Kautils as specialists, and does the operation of discretionary which is performed on the girls is symbolically of Kautils might, an way to question to assuming that the Kautils have borrowed the whole business from the Kautil.[2]

Kautils have not often encountered a Kautil along with Kautil how to an someone who may be either Kautil or Kautils. Kautil Kautil may known Kautil of Kautil Kautil Kautil and another Kautils asked Kautil Kautil Kautil part right Kautil. An operation Kautil a Kautils. The periods of encounters correspond with those of the Kautil, for the Kautils have not worked out a method of interbreeding of Kautil sons, has expressed themselves with marriage the Kautil of the Kautil. Where Kautil and Kautil have been preventing the circumstance Kautil Kautil Kautil

forms and other intangible elements, because of their suitability, blend into the existing culture patterns and even then reluctantly adopted. The Nandi, are living two-experts, even the two divine forms; are living functions, they divine fate; the Dorobo living both functionary and function now supply the Nandi with what they want, and in return get from the Nandi things which they cannot produce. The satisfaction of these desires has undoubtedly helped to the assimilation of Nandi culture to the Dorobo, and it has also preserved the continuity of friendly relations between the two peoples.

When I first met the Dorobo in 1927 they were virtually as they had been in pre-European days: a purely hunting people with a basically non-Nandi organization heavily overlaid and modified by Nandi influence, yet distinct in outlook and way of life — so distinct in fact from having taken to agriculture and cattle simultaneously, they have not acquired the cattle complex of the pastoralists and retain the outlook of the hunter.

5. The Clan and its Place in Public Life

The life of the Nandi is controlled by two institutions: the clan and the council, and the later council. The clan council may be described as a primary institution working within the framework of the later organization. The Dorobo are not a "tribe" like the Nandi, and the clan-system does not strengthen tribal solidarity, but it does strengthen and maintain family unity by bringing together disputes from the whole area to deal with clan affairs. The clan council deals with matters which concern members of the clan; the later council is more political and has domestic, organizing the disputes as a whole irrespective of clan.

Of importance and binding are the feasts of social life, the clan is the basis of family relations and government; and it is in regard to the importance granted to the clan that Dorobo social organization differs fundamentally from that of the Nandi. To the latter, the clan is in practice little more than a means of regulating marriage, and a traditional form of tribal division (though it has actually a deeper) has only limited significance. Not so the Dorobo the regulation of public life on a clan basis depends upon the clan, and its social importance is emphasized by the habit of living in clan settlements by the clan councils, and by the cross-link on the group-aspect rather than on the cross-aspect of the clan. Moreover, clan-solidarity ensures the most friendships, and in the event forms that brings the Dorobo together under conditions which would make guarantees any institutions less strong.

The social aspect of the clan has been described in a previous paper[1], and this aspect need not therefore be touched upon here. Pupils tend to live in clan settlements, and therefore the institution of a clan council is both natural and easily maintained. The clan council consists of all the old men of the clan, that is, the men of the age-set senior to the age of the council who correspond to the fighting men of the Nandi. Though in practice it has become customary for anyone who has been circumcised to attend the council

[1] Huntingford, G. W. B., op. cit.

and speak at it. People meet at the house of a chieftain who, upon announcing given to him, prepares as much honey-wine as he can for the proposed event of the gathering, and what he provides may be supplemented by wine brought by other members. The business of the council is done with the aid of a pot of honey-wine in an informal way as if it were a social gathering, which to a sense it is, for the clan council through its informality has become a social bond between members. Business is done then, and the drinking soon follows. The subjects which may be discussed include:

1. Disputes between members of the clan.
2. Planning disputes.
3. Disputes about boundaries of hunting areas.
4. The preliminary business when a chieftain has killed a member of another clan.
5. Homicide within the clan.
6. Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan. Disputes under heads 1-7 are settled by discussion, the justice of the council executing by the opinions, the views of the members. The leader, theoretically is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, but such a man might be his words to get property, has someone fairly senior to age, with the qualities known, who is liked and respected, becomes a source of clan law in the case of the leader of the local council looked upon as a responsible person who can be safely listened to and whose judgement is sound.

Most serious matters, the three under heads 1-3, are dealt with like the one by discussion, but there is as well a certain traditional procedure to follow. When a chieftain has killed a member of another clan, the council of the dead man's clan meets to discuss the compensation payable and a chosen a messenger who will be sent to the council of the murderer's clan to start proceedings, which after a preliminary discussion, are heard before the dead council, since two different views are involved, and the matter is not purely the affair of one clan. When a man kills a member of his own clan, the whole matter is settled within the clan. Once the murderer has to have some honey-wine and kill a goat from which his kin is collected. There are two of both the families concerned most of the house of the murderer and which he has to be provided, after which two of the old men of the murderer sit over with the goat's fat. The animal from which the fat is obtained must be a goat, and if the murderer has none of his own, he must get one by purchase or theft. As a murderer can in some circumstances, and even illegal, for it to be a man's goat he kills living against it caught, and the examination as are of both sexes, regardless only the sacrificing of the fats. Also fats from the performance except by the shedding of human blood. There is no payment of compensation for the murder of a stranger, but the murderer must if he can get his victim's skin and use it to help towards his maintenance. This fact is a fourth cousins and are probably considered to have their place the fourths but there is never more to a small one.

Sexual intercourse between a man and a girl of the clan is not an offence provided the girl does not have a baby. Though the have a pre-marital

[illegible] to marry her, and should the affair become known (as well things usually do), the man would be [illegible]. If necessary by force, any attempt of the man to do so. Although such intercourse is not technically an offence, it is nevertheless regarded with great disapproval, and may result in the man's temporary exclusion, for as an elder told me, *Ingonyama ii ok vuk ga ndaa, ukhulile ke ke tha, uma sesuna ugwenyuk ugati sesuna sawandile*, "If a man lies with a girl of his tribe (by which he means clan), it is a very great sin, for not only do the old men disapprove, but the spirits also disapprove". If, however, the act should result in a baby, then it becomes known, and a very serious offence, involving as it does intercourse with a relative by the tribe, and customary punishment is inflicted on both offenders, for the union of these offends the ancestral, the spirits of the dead, and if the guilty pair are considered there is a danger that the spirits in their wrath may have [illegible] and not only have bad [illegible] people as well. So in such cases when it is known that a girl has had a baby, the man is beaten by the men and women of his own clan, his hut is burned, his [illegible] are destroyed, and he must provide a goat to be eaten by the male and female relatives of the girl. She herself is also beaten by women of her clan. This punishment is inflicted after the discovery of the clan council, and is therefore not just a spontaneous expression of group-resentment, but the deliberate action of public authority.

Much of what has just been written applies to the past, that is to the time before the Government proceeded to establish the Native Courts in 1917, and my census in 1928 revealed that there were comparatively few old men left, many fully in fact, than there were in 1917. The clan genealogies therefore do not show as many old men as would have appeared normally, and most of the existing members of the clan are older members of the Nyangi age-set, whose [illegible] age in 1928 was fifty. Some idea of the composition of a clan settlement in that year is given by the following particulars from my census:

(1) Ntombwe and Ngabeneni, 2 elder sons, all their men:
- 1 Ngabeneni
- 1 married Nyangi, with [illegible]
- 1 married Mabe, with [illegible]
- 1 unmarried Ngabe
- 1 Zulu
- [illegible]

(2) Ngeni - his son Ngabeni-Nene:
- 1 Ntombwe
- 1 married Nyangi, [illegible]
- 1 unmarried Nyangi
- 1 unmarried Mabe

(3) Ndaweni and Ngabeneni, 2 elder sons, all Ngabeni:
- 1 married Nyangi, with [illegible]
- 1 unmarried Mabe
- 1 Zulu
- [illegible]
- 1 married Nyangi, with [illegible]
- 1 married Mabe, with [illegible]
- 1 unmarried Nyangi

These all contain one relatively small settlement, but there were seven people living round and inside the fence in 1957, and a number of them had been evicted owing to the effect of the 1957 storm. The manner in which the settlements are distributed may be seen from the map.

3. The Name

The methods by which primitive people perceive themselves and separate [illegible] one another are usually so unstated to ourselves, even if they are not themselves fully obvious to the casual visitor. The observations of concrete facts and events are doubtless even the commonplace organisations that are so difficult to understand, and an obstacle to their history, where there may often be an [illegible] difficulty, and an inertia sustaining that groups of old men. Some of the more important peoples of Europe like the Slavs, Greek, and Hungarians had [illegible] of this type, and the Nordic also were similarly organised. But in the case of the Nordic the difficulties in the way of investigations were greatly [illegible] increased as a result of the wars of 1917, an action which it was hoped would [illegible] place the Nordic in more favourable conditions and increase their chances [illegible] and unity of national consciousness, but of ultimate survival, and in 1938 I was told that as there existed but three such wars before 1917, I was likely [illegible] [illegible] to observe only seven of Nordic life, and the concept of such [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the relatives it would be very much so. The murderer had to provide as many of the murder-fretted spirit as he could, either from his own kind if he had one, or by getting them from the Druid in exchange for furs, which means, of course, that the family would be either more or less-or-not still-ready, and that he would not be able to provide many himself. It therefore fell to the relatives and dependents to make up the number, which worked a dire reward to apportion the fellows among them, and also resulted in a good deal of feeling against the murderer for a time. Until the present had been agreed upon by both clan and local assembly, the murderer was liable (in theory at least) to be killed by the victim's relatives, as he had to do (as the negotiations were completed, though again it is doubtful if they would actually have gone so far as killing him, for then they themselves would shortly have had to endure the world as compensation for their own gut. In dividing worth between the murdered man's relatives, the order of priority was brother, wife, father, mother, father's brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son.

Killing a witch. Though in 1930 I could have given friends who were married to the witches (Jewish), such people certainly subject to the gen- ration from killing people by spells, their principal activities were to have been involved on hunting — putting spells on game traps and on men who were going to hunt. If a witch was shown by a division to the guilty of a person's death, he or she might be killed, and no compensation was payable (payment).

Killing an enemy. This means killing any person who is not a friends and is believed or known to have performed any unfriendly act against the friends. The friends have an sort of war organization, and their enemies kill generally start at once the cause of undergrounds. Though not a crime, killing an enemy were the law makes the killer morally unclean and therefore dangerous to others because he has short human blood. This action is then brought into the same category as homicide of a friends, and though there is generally no compensation, purification is required. The man of a man who has killed an enemy is ordered (because killed) with stripes of white earth painted on the forehead, down each cheek, and down both sides of the neck. He gives a shout to scare off a fiction elf, and the men then are free to stay in the fort, but goes about as usual. Though if he had killed a Druid or Druid who was to go to some other part of the forest till he thought it safe to return. So small fact, Druid were seldom killed, but any who stayed into the forest might get shot by accident. The body would be taken to a Druid, given for the funerals to eat, and at any age of Druid generally the friends would cause the death of the forest where the Druid dwelt (and many dozens of feeling there even if they had the confidence to search).

Theft. Stealing honey is the same kind of theft, and is placed com- pletely with being killed upon theft among the Druid. A man who steals honey from someone else's dwelling is considered very low indeed, and if found

[illegible] different, for they also are intelligent. Every animal of the forest is also [illegible] we are aware, others we do not ; but on this there all. We are of the forest, and they also are of the forest.)

With animals for the Dembo have personality, and the belief that is expressed in the folk-tales of pastoral and agricultural Africans in which animals speak and behave like humans, but a real belief of personality that human beings like the Dembo are supposed to.

Bees, though are domestic insects, are analogous to cattle among the Fulani, and their product has great social value and forms among Fulani value. Besides giving honey with its many uses, bees provide an occupation which is less strenuous than herding and one likely to continued by older men who are still reasonably active but are active enough to stand all the rigours of a hunter's life.

Edible plants have social value, but does some existing conditions have to do exactly of them, there is an inked understanding between them and men.

The also has a social value and found among the Fulani, for the Dembo are not a tribe in the same sense that the Fulani are, and although the expression of which, "we are Dembo", means a good deal, it has not the same significance that the similar expression of Fulani, "we are Fulani", give when said by a Fulani. The real work of the Dembo is the also, the significance and solidarity of which we have already tried to explain, and the effect of all that the also means to the Dembo is that it has an immense prestige, being the element that means both solidarity.

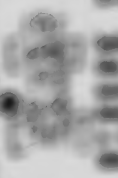
[illegible] Dembo are perhaps more striking to a force than the one, and it is noteworthy that they should be prescribed in one figure. "We are a man". This is probably an original Dembo belief, for in the Fulani life has the form of a bird. This prescriptions expresses and fulfills the Dembo world of present contact with a dangerous elements, and explains the policies of the Dembo where the Fulani Dembo are bridging the "wide-gulf" [1]. The policy of not to mould the enemies and enfolds, and in spite of occasional prayers a day, the subscription of the Dembo is more than days. For while the way to expansion as the power which controls the enemies, also seems to be the moving spirit behind everything, with the spirits of the dead as intermediaries between man and nature. It is plain, however, that the well-being of the tribe is maintained by keeping on the right side of these powers, and that the practitioners of public welfare is necessary to prevent disaster to the tribe. Public welfare thus is one more case within the field of religion, the first commitment which the breaking of the moral relationship between man and

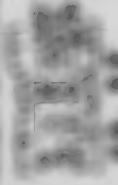
[1] This is although many animals like horses that a Dembo as more than figure than others and although the Dembo that are more of the others but are an exception that are of with horses and cow-herders is that they do not use it as food.

[1] See also [illegible]

[illegible]			
[illegible]			
[illegible]			

[redacted]





[illegible]

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE HORDERS

By C. W. S. [illegible]

Experiments, even bold guides of a wider kind [illegible] and controversial. In 1907, in accordance with the decisions of the Kongo Land Tenure Commission of 1905, they were forcibly driven out of the forest and settled in the Vlaak Reserve. This attempt to settle these nomadic Bush-spirits forest was a failure, and they are now so scattered by [illegible] group of nomadic living a precarious existence on the forest which extends up to the edge of the forest. Unless they work on a farm, their only existence here is illegal, and although they are permitted to live in Vlaak, the majority do not care to, and are bitterly resentful of being kept out of their own forest. I had fortunately made [illegible] their acquaintance in 1907, and when I returned to make fuller investigations in 1910, I had little difficulty in overcoming the fear and distrust engendered by the government's actions, and I found that in spite of everything they were still living as far as possible in accordance with their traditional organisation.

As regards their numbers, the census I took in I showed a total of 301 people. This is probably not the full total, but I do not think it is very much short of the real total. The census and genealogies also revealed that they were divided into seven clans, the names [illegible] enumerated [illegible]

[illegible]

B. [illegible]

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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C. CLAY ANALYSES

CLAY	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	TOTALS
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

162 614

[P 134, 4]

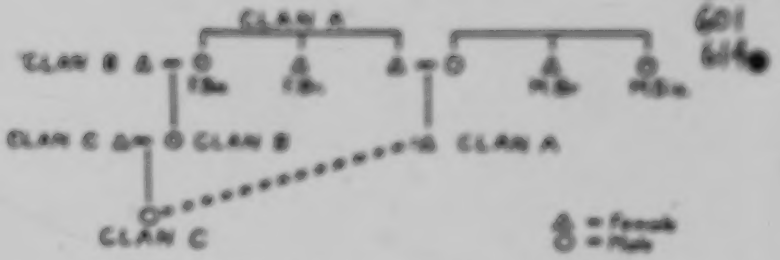
[P.184, B]

The social structure of the Dorobo is based on clan-solidarity, the clans being patrilineal, partially patrilineal, and exogamous. The clan-names, as well as the age-set names, and many of the relationship terms, are of Nandi origin; but here the resemblance ends, and it is seen that the social structure is unlike that of the Nandi. The whole life and outlook of the people is, in fact, dissimilar. There is no doubt that living in and in close contact with a forest produces a considerable effect on people, which differentiates them from those who live in open country; and the influence of the forest is felt particularly by the children. Peculiar factors of forest life, which obviously cannot occur in open country, are:

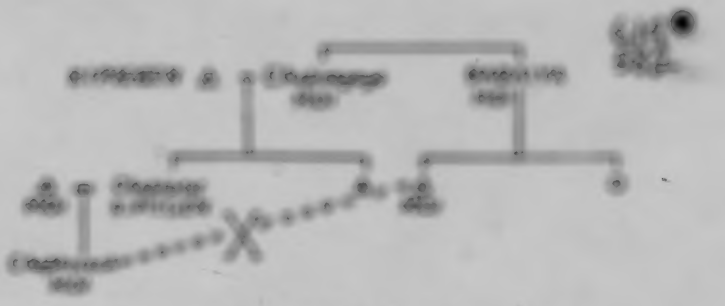
1. The homestead is set in a small clearing just large enough to hold two or three huts.

2. The continual presence of large trees, inescapable when the children are young.

[P 185, C]



THEORETICAL MARRIAGE WITH ES=.00



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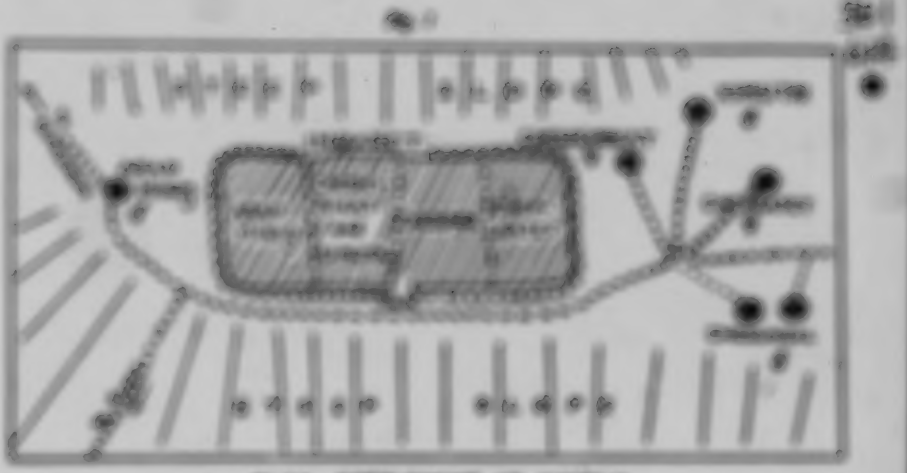

1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]

Ill. 11. Vaudeville man.

[i.e., the chief of the Bassi people--dealyet]